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Following is the text of an interview granted by Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter in Plains, Georgia, to Pierre Salinger, Roving Editor of L'Express, France's leading newsmagazine, to be published on Monday, August 23.

In the interview, Carter gives his views on Europe, Africa, how he conceives a Carter foreign policy, Concorde, sale of nuclear reprocessing plants, and detente.

This is the first, on-the-record interview granted by Carter to a foreign publication.

Text follows:

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INTERVIEW OF GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER

PLAINS, GEORGIA

FRIDAY, AUGUST, 13, 1976

SALINGER: GOVERNOR LET ME START BY SAYING THAT IT HAS BEEN WRITTEN AND SAID THAT IF YOU BECOME PRESIDENT THAT A CARTER FOREIGN POLICY WILL NOT BE MUCH DIFFERENT THAN A NIXON OR A FORD FOREIGN POLICY, THAT THE OPTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE SO LIMITED IN FOREIGN POLICY. DO YOU AGREE WITH THIS?

CARTER: THE ONLY ONE I KNOW THAT SAID THIS WAS MR. KISSINGER. BUT I THINK THAT THERE WOULD BE SOME SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES. I WOULD HAVE A MUCH MORE OPEN EVOLUTION OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS BEING INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS AND NATURALLY INCLINED TO SUPPORT OUR POSITIONS MUCH MORE STRONGLY. IN THE PAST QUITE OFTEN THE DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE IN A BACK ROOM AND WHEN MR. KISSINGER OR NIXON OR FORD SPOKE, IT WAS USUALLY WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OR SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEY WERE SPEAKING WITH A HOLLOW VOICE. ALSO, I WOULD MUCH MORE HEAVILY EMPHASIZE PREDICTABLE AND CONTINUING RELATIONSHIPS WITH OUR NATURAL ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN EUROPE, AND JAPAN AND THIS HEMISPHERE, SO AS WE MADE MAJOR CHANGES IN FOREIGN POLICY -- WHICH ARE INEVITABLE IN A FAST CHANGING WORLD -- THAT OUR NATURAL FRIENDS AND ALLIES WOULD BE CONVERSANT WITH THOSE CHANGES AND THERE WOULD BE MUCH CLOSER CONSULTATION. I WOULD BE INCLINED TO DO WHAT I COULD TO HONOR THE INCLINATION OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO SPEAK WITH A COMMON VOICE WHEN THEY CHOSE, WITHOUT INTERFERING IN THAT

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RELATIONSHIP OR WITHOUT TRYING TO FORCE UNILATERAL EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION AMONG EUROPEAN NATIONS WHEN THEY CHOSE TO SPEAK AS A GROUP. I THINK I WOULD BE MUCH TOUGHER IN BARGAINING WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BUT EQUALLY COMMITTED TO SHARING OF COMMUNICATIONS AND EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND TRADE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND A SEARCHING OUT FOR A COMMON APPROACH TO THE RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, REDUCTION IN ARMS, INDEPENDENCE ON ARMS, OR REDUCTION IN THREAT, WITH ATOMIC WEAPONS, ALLEVIATION OF A THREAT OF NORTH KOREA AGAINST SOUTH KOREA. THESE THINGS I WOULD SEEK A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I THINK THE LAST POINT I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE BRIEFLY, IS THAT I THINK I WOULD HAVE A MUCH GREATER INCLINATION TO DEAL WITH THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE WORLD AS INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES WITH MORE STRENGTH AND MUCH MORE PURPOSEFUL APPROACH. THE APPOINTMENT OF HIGHLY QUALIFIED DIPLOMATIC OFFICIALS. THESE WOULD ALL BE CHANGES IN THE POLICIES THAT HAVE BEEN INVOLVED UNDER FORD AND NIXON.

SALINGER: LET ME ASK YOU THIS AS A STUDENT OF THE PRESIDENCY, HOW OPEN CAN FOREIGN POLICY BE IN THE WORLD WE LIVE IN TODAY?

CARTER: WELL I FELT THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS WERE QUITE OPEN UNDER TRUMAN, AND ROOSEVELT, EISENHOWER AND KENNEDY. TO TAKE ONE OF THOSE AS AN EXAMPLE, WHEN TRUMAN WAS PRESIDENT HE WAS AT FIRST, NOT LOOKED ON AS A STRONG LEADER WHEN HE BECAME PRESIDENT HE WAS NOT TIMID IN CHOOSING POWERFUL MEN TO BE SECRETARIES OF STATE, ACHESON, MARSHALL, HE NEVER FELT ANY THREAT TO HIS STATUS FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE, THEY MOVED AGGRESSIVELY AND SUCCESSFULLY TO ACHIEVE A CONTINUING BIPARTISAN SUPPORT WITHIN THE CONGRESS FOR THE MAJOR POLICIES THAT WERE INVOLVED. I THINK WHEN TRUMAN MADE DECISIONS CONCERNING AID TO TURKEY AND GREECE, OR THE POINT FOUR PROGRAM OF THE SO-CALLED TRUMAN DOCTRINE OR THE NATO ALLIANCE OR THE FORMATION

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OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR THE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL, THAT HIS REASONS FOR THOSE DECISIONS WERE MADE VERY CLEAR TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ROOSEVELT USED A MECHANISM THAT I INTEND TO RESTORE, THE FIRESIDE CHATS, SO THAT AS WE EVOLVE POLICIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORLD THAT THE ARGUMENTS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE COMPLICATED QUESTION MIGHT BE DESCRIBED PUBLICLY AND SO I THINK THAT THERE CAN BE A GREAT DEAL OF OPENNESS. OBVIOUSLY YOU'D HAVE TO RESPECT THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES IF IT WAS THEIR STRONG DESIRE TO SEE THAT CONFIDENTIALITY MAINTAINED, AND WHEN, DECISIONS WERE IN THE FORMATIVE STAGE TO EXPRESS TO THE PUBLIC ALL THE DIFFERENT OPTIONS MIGHT SOMETIMES BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN MATTERS THAT RELATED TO NATIONAL SECURITY OR THERE WOULD BE A MISTAKE, BUT THE MISLEADING OF OUR PEOPLE DELIBERATELY OR THE EXCLUSION OF THE CONGRESS FROM A KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT OUR POLICIES ARE TOWARDS FOREIGN COUNTRIES COLLECTIVELY AND INDIVIDUALLY, I THINK CAN BE CORRECTED.

SALINGER: LOOKING AT THE UNITED STATES FROM EUROPE MANY EUROPEANS SEE WHAT THEY THINK TO BE A MOVE TOWARDS ISOLATIONISM AND PROTECTIONISM IN AMERICA. YOU HAVE BEEN MOVING AROUND THIS COUNTRY TALKING TO PEOPLE, DO YOU SENSE THAT FEELING?

CARTER: NO. THERE IS A COMPLICATION HOWEVER, THAT CAN'T BE DESCRIBED IN A ONE WORD ANSWER. MOST OF THE PEOPLE, FOR INSTANCE, HERE IN GEORGIA, OR IN A MORE INLAND STATE LIKE IOWA, NEBRASKA OR KANSAS, REALIZE THAT ALMOST EVERY DECISION MADE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCILS AFFECT THEIR LIVES PERSONALLY. FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY MONETARY FUNDS DECISIONS, ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, FOOD RESERVES, PRODUCTION OR DEPENDENCE ON ATOMIC WEAPONS AND MANY, MANY, OTHERS. THESE DECISIONS THAT ARE MADE AT INTERNATIONAL COUNCILS ARE OF INTENSE INTEREST TO OUR PEOPLE AND FOR US TO WITHDRAW FROM

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THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. ON THE OTHER HAND, I THINK THERE IS A GREAT RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO GET MILITARILY INVOLVED IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, AS WE DID WITH SUCH DEVAŠTATING RESULTS IN CAMBODIA AND VIET NAM, AS WE ALMOST DID IN THE CASE OF ANGOLA. SO, A PROPER PLANCING OF THESE TWO COMMITMENTS ON THE PART OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS SOMETHING THAT REQUIRES SUBJECTIVE ANALYSIS ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS, BUT I WOULD NEVER AGAIN GET MILITARILY INVOLVED IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, UNLESS OUR OWN SECURITY WAS DIRECTLY THREATENED, AND I WOULD PLAY A STRONG ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE NATIO. ALLIANCE, IN TRADE MECHANISMS THAT HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AND HOPEFULLY WE WOULD APPOINT DIPLOMATS OF SUPERB QUALIFICATIONS WHO'D CAREFULLY PREPARE FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES. WE'D LET OUR VOICE BE FELT STRONGLY AS WE HSAPED OPINIONS OR POLICIES IN THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS AND I THINK THAT THIS WOULD BE NOT AN ISOLATIONIST ATTITUDE AT ALL, I DON'T THINK THAT THAT'S WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT.

SALINGER: YOU MENTIONED ANGOLA. MANY PEOPLE IN EUROPE FELT THAT THE FAILURE OF THE CONGRESS TO BACK UP SECRETARY KISSINGER IN SENDING SUPPLIES TO ANGOLA WAS A FAILURE TO STAND UP TO THE SOVIET UNION, ALLOWED THEM TO MOVE INTO A VACUUM IN ANGOLA. DO YOU FEEL THE SAME WAY ABOUT THAT?

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CARTER: NO I THINK THAT AFTER THE CIRCUMSTANCES EVOLVED, THERE WAS NO OTHER PROPER ACTION FOR THE CONGRESS TO TAKE. THE VACUUM NO LONGER EXISTED. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CUBANS HAD PRE-EMPTED OUR POSITION OF STRENGTH IN ANGOLA. WE HAD NOT CAREFULLY PREPARED OUR COUNTRY FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PROTUGUESE AND I THINK THAT WHEN PRESIDENT FORD AND KISSINGER'S

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POLICY WAS MADE KNOWN I BELIEVE INADVERTENTLY TO THE PUBLIC, THERE WAS AN ADVERSE REACTION THAT THE SITUATION HAD DETERIORATED SO GREATLY IN THE ABSENCE OF PARTICIPATION BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, OR THE CONGRESS OR THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT WAS GOING ON. I DON'T THINK OUR POLICY TOWARD ANGOLA WAS CONSISTENT, OR PERMANENT, OR PREDICTABLE, OR LONG RANGE IN NATURE NOR PARTICULARLY DEDICATED TO WHAT WAS BEST FOR THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE OR OURSELVES. IT WAS AN AFTER-THE-FACT REACTION TO A FAILURE WHICH HAD RESULTED IN A PRE-EMPTED POSITION OF THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS WITHIN ANGOLA.

SALINGER: WHILE WE ARE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, WHAT SHOULD AMERICAN POLICY IN A CARTER ADMINISTRATION BE WITH RESPECT TO THE DESIRE FOR THE MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA?

CARTER: WELL YOU ARE ASKING ME TO ANSWER A QUESTION THAT NO ONE ELSE HAS BEEN ABLE TO ANSWER. OUR NATION IS IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO THE CONCEPT OF MAJORITY RULE WHETHER IT APPLIES TO BLACK OR WHITE PEOPLE. I WOULD ALSO RETAIN A COMMITMENT TO THE RESOLUTION OF PROGRESS THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. I WOULD DEFER THE OTHER NATIONS AS FAR AS ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN CONCERNED WHO HAVE A DIRECT LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY. FOR INSTANCE, GREAT BRITAIN IN RHODESIA, I WOULD NOT TRY TO PRE-EMPT GREAT BRITAIN THERE AS TO A CLAIM, I THINK DOMINION OVER RHODESIA. I WOULD TRY TO INCLUDE AS A PORTION OF OUR OWN PERSUASION THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN A GREATER DEGREE.

THE SHAPING OF OUR POLICY SHOULD BE COMPATIBLE WHEN POSSIBLE WITH THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN STATES, AND I THINK THAT WE SHOULD USE THE GOOD SERVICES OF OTHER INDIVIDUAL NATIONS WHEN POSSIBLE. FOR INSTANCE, THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE LOCATED IN THE SOUTHERN PORTION OF AFRICA, HAVE A LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO BE INVOLVED IN EXPRESSING PUBLIC

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OPINION PERHAPS IN TRADE RELATIONSHIPS, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIPS, TRANSPORTATION RELATIONSHIPS, AS THE CHANGES TAKE PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA. I BELIEVE THAT THE FIRST CRITICAL CHANGES ARE GOING TO BE FACED IN RHODESIA, AND I THINK MAJORITY RULE THERE IS INEVITABLE.

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SALINGER: LET ME MOVE TO THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. THERE HAS BEEN A CERTAIN AMBIVALENCE IN AMERICAN POLICY WITH REFERENCE TO POLITICAL UNITY OF EUROPE. WHAT WOULD BE YOUR VIEW AS TO WHAT THE AMERICAN POSTURE SHOULD BE, VIS A VIS THE DESIRE OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY?

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CARTER: WELL OF COURSE, THAT'S A DECISION TO BE MADE BY THE EUROPEAN NATIONS THEMSELVES. I SEE NO REASON FOR US TO TRY TO INFLUENCE THE FORMATION OF CLOSER ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TIES AMONG THE NATIONS OF EUROPE. I PERSONALLY FAVOR THE CONCEPT AND WHEN REQUESTED TO DO SO BY THE LEADERS OF EUROPEAN NATIONS WOULD LEND ASSISTANCE ECONOMICALLY OR THROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO ENCOURAGE SUCH COOPERATION AND CLOSER ALLIANCE. AS I SAID EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW, THAT WOULD BE ONE OF THE CHANGES I THINK COULD BE MADE. I DON'T SEE ANY PARTICULAR ADVANTAGE, TO BE DERIVED FOR OUR COUNTRY TO TRY TO FORCE THE EUROPEANS TO DEAL WITH US ON MOMENTARY OR TRADE MATTERS IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS. I THINK IF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS PREFER TO SPEAK WITH A COMMON VOICE THAT THAT SHOULD CERTAINLY BE ACCEPTED BY US.

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SO TO SUMMARIZE MY ANSWER I WOULD BE INCLINED TO LET THE EUROPEAN NATIONS MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS. I WOULD TRY TO HELP IN ANY WAY THAT I COULD TO BRING ABOUT THOSE CHANGES AS REQUESTED BY THE LEADERS OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS AND BELIEVE IT WOULD BE TO OUR ADVANTAGE TO SEE A MORE UNIFIED EUROPE AS A GENERAL CONCEPT.

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SALINGER: MANY OF THOSE WHO FAVOR THE UNITY OF EUROPE POLITICALLY HAVE AS A PART OF THAT UNITY AN INDEPENDENCE FROM AMERICAN POLITICAL DOMINATION OR AMERICAN POLICY. HOW FAR CAN EUROPE GO IN THIS INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT BOTHERING AMERICAN POLICY, WITHOUT AMERICAN POLICY HAVING TO INTERVENE IN SOME WAY?

CARTER: WELL THERE'S SUCH A TREMENDOUS COMMONALITY OF PURPOSE THAT EXIST BETWEEN OUR NATION AND EUROPE THAT TO BE COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT OF ONE ANOTHER IS IMPOSSIBLE. WE ARE MUTUALLY DEPENDENT FOR PEACE, AND SECURITY, FOR TRADE OPPORTUNITIES AND THROUGH CUSTOM AND HERITAGE. SO I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY THREAT OF THAT BEING PURSUED BY OURSELVES OR BY THE EUROPEAN NATIONS. I DON'T HAVE ANY INCLINATION I WANT TO DOMINATE ANY NATION IN EUROPE OR EUROPE AS AN ENTITY IN POLITICAL MATTERS OR IN ECONOMIC MATTERS. I THINK A STRONG AND PROPEROUS AND DYNAMIC EUROPE IS AN ADVANTAGE TO US. I THINK THERE ARE SOME AREAS FOR CLOSER COOPERATION. FOR INSTANCE, IN THE APPROACH TO PRODUCTION AND TRADE BARRIERS, IN DEALING WITH THE NATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE IN THE RETENTION OF ADEQUATE GRAIN RESERVES. IN WORKING TOGETHER FOR MORE FREE UTILIZATION OF THE OCEANS, FOR DEALING WITH POPULATION EXPLOSIONS, FOR POLLUTION CONTROL, FOR THE REDUCTION IN DEPENDENCE ON ATOMIC WEAPONS, FOR THE REDUCTION IN THE SALE OF ALL WEAPONS TO COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THAT ORGINATE IN OUR NATION, IN FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES, THOSE ARE COMMON PURPOSES THAT WE NEED TO EXPLORE AND THE NEED IS OBVIOUS TO ME. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE STRENGTH OF NATIO MAINTAINED WITH MODERIZATION OF WEAPONS WITH A MORE SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TOWARD A STANDARDIZATION OF DESIGN, WITH PERHAPS A REORIENTATION OF REPLACEMENT OF DEFENSE FORCES, WITH A CONTANT INCLINATION TO REASSESS THOSE INNER-RELATIONSHIPS AS A KNOWN PART OF THE PROCESS SO THAT WE DON'T BECOME DORMANT. THOSE KIND OF RELATIONSHIPS OUGHT TO BE PURSUED AND THEY CAN BE EFFECTUATED

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I BELIEVE WITHOUT ANY SEMPLANCE OF DOMINANCE BY US, OR INDEPENDENCE OF THAT POTENTIAL DOMINANCE ON THE PART OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS. THE MUTUALITY OF PURPOSES IS WHAT I SEE AS AN OVERRIDING CONSIDERATION.

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SALINGER: WHAT SHOULD BE THE AMERICAN POSTURE WITH REGARD TO THE RISING POWER OF COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE COUNTRIES. PARTICULARLY, IN ITALY AND IN FRANCE?

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CARTER: I DEPLORE THE RISE OF COMMUNISM AND BELIEVE THAT IN MANY AN INSTANCES IT'S BEEN ENHANCED BY A WEAKNESS OR AN INABILITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES TO GOVERN PROPERLY. IN SOME INSTANCES, CORRUPTION HAS BEEN A FACTOR, IN SOME INSTANCES A LACK OF COMPETENCE HAS BEEN A FACTOR, IN SOME INSTANCES A BREAKDOWN IN THE CLOSENESS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE PEOPLE OF THE NATIONS HAVE BEEN A FACTOR. SO I DEPLORE THE ADVANCES OF COMMUNISM AND THINK IT BEST A WAY TO PREVENT AN ESCALATION OF COMMUNISTIC CONTROL OVER GOVERNMENTS IS TO MAKE THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE WORK. I DON'T THINK THAT WE SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE IN TRYING TO INTERFERE DIRECTLY OR OVERTLY IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, FOR US TO THREATEN CITIZENS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY THAT IF YOU VOTE A CERTAIN WAY WE'LL PUNISH YOU MILITARILY OR ECONOMICALLY OR POLITICALLY, IS PROBABLY A COUNTER PRODUCTIVE AND I WOULD HOPE THAT THE NATIONS OF THE NATO COMMUNITY CAN LET THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE AND OF ITALY UNDERSTAND THAT COMMUNISTS HAVE A DIVIDED LOYALTY, QUITE OFTEN AND THAT THEIR LOYALTY MIGHT VERY WELL BE TO THE NATIONS, SOVIET UNION, EASTERN EUROPE, THAT ARE A POTENTIAL THREAT TO THEIR PEACE AND SECURITY. THIS REALIZATION I THINK MIGHT BE A FACTOR IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF THOSE FREE COUNTRIES. I THINK THIS WAS DEMONSTRATED TO BE SUCCESSFUL TO SOME DEGREE IN PORTUGAL WHEN THE NATIONS OF

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EUROPE SAID IF PORTUGAL GOES COMMUNIST IT WOULD SEVER OR AT LEAST REDUCE THE POTENTIAL RELATIONSHIP FOR COMMERCE AND TRADE AND MUTUAL DEFENSE THAT PRESENTLY EXISTS BETWEEN US AND YOU. AND WITHOUT USING UNNECESSARY PRESSURE ON THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE THE THREAT OF A COMPLETE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF PORTUGAL'S GOVERNMENT WAS AVOIDED. SO I WOULDN'T SEE IT AS A CATASTROPHY OR CAUSE FOR DESTRUCTION OF THE NATO ALLIANCE, BUT I SEE IT AS A CAUSE FOR CONCERN. AND A SHARP AND DIFFICULT BALANCING OF AN EXPRESSION OF CONCERN ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE INTERFERENCE IN THE ELECTORIAL PROCESS OF A SOVEREIGN NATION ON THE OTHER, WOULD REQUIRE VERY CAREFUL JUDGMENT AND THE PREVENTION OF COMMUNISM AND ITS INCREASE IN GOVERNMENT BY THE MORE WORKABLE FUNCTIONING OF A DEMOCRATIC FORCES IS OBVIOUSLY THE BEST AND THE MOST DIFFICULT PREVENTIVE MEASURES THAT CAN BE TAKEN.

SALINGER: I'D LIKE TO ASK ABOUT TWO PRECISE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE RUFFLED U.S./FRENCH RELATIONS IN THE PAST YEAR. THE FIRST IS CONCORDE. WHAT WOULD BE THE ATTITUDE OF A CARTER ADMINISTRATION TOWARDS THE LANDING RIGHTS WITH CONCORDE IN THE UNITED STATES?

CARTER: WELL I DON'T FAVOR THE USE OF THE SUPERSONIC AIRPLANES OVER THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES FROM A FOREIGN COUNTRY AS LONG AS OUR CONGRESS AND ADMINISTRATION HAS DECIDED NOT TO USE THE SUPERSONIC AIRPLANES THAT ARE BUILT WITHIN THIS COUNTRY. WE MADE A DECISION ABOUT SIX OR SEVEN YEARS AGO THAT WE WOULD NOT GO INTO THE S.S.T. CONSTRUCTION BECAUSE OF THE ENORMOUS CONSUMPTION OF ENERGY PER PASSENGER MILE, BECAUSE OF THE ENORMOUS COST OF THE AIRPLANES AND THE INVESTMENT OF A MAJOR PART OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES AND BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBLE DETERIORATION OF THE QUALITY OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.

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PRIMARILY THROUGH NOISE, AND IF THAT RESTRAINT APPLIES TO AMERICAN PLANES, I THINK IT OUGHT TO BE APPLIED TO THE CONCORDE AND OTHER FOREIGN PLANES. WE ARE IN A TESTING PERIOD NOW, AND I AM PERFECTLY WILLING TO ASSESS VERY CAREFULLY THE RESULTS OF THE LIMITED TESTS AND IF IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IT'S TO OUR OWN ADVANTAGE IN THIS COUNTRY TO HAVE THE S.S.T. CONTINUE TO LAND THE CONCORDE THEN I WOULD CERTAINLY CONSIDER THAT, BUT I AGREED WITH THE CONGRESS DECISION SIX YEARS AGO AND DON'T THINK WE OUGHT TO TREAT THE FOREIGN S.S.T. ANY DIFFERENTLY THAN WE HAVE DECIDED TO TREAT OUR OWN S.S.T. WHICH WAS NOT BUILT BECAUSE OF THOSE REASONS.

SALINGER: AS YOU KNOW RECENTLY, FRANCE HAS SOLD PAKISTAN A NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT AND SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS IN PAKISTAN LAST WEEK AND ACCORDING TO FRENCH HE TRIED TO TALK THE PAKISTANIANS OUT OF BUYING THE FRENCH PLANT: WHAT SHOULD BE THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES WHEN FOREIGN COUNTRIES SELL NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT OF THAT KIND?

I THINK THAT FRANCE OUGHT TO JOIN US IN RESTRICTING VERY SEVERELY, THE SALE OF REPROCESSING PLANTS TO THE NON-NUCLEAR NATIONS OF THE WORLD, EVEN THOUGH IT MIGHT CREATE SOME SLIGHT LOSS IN THE BALANCE OF TRADE. I BELIEVE THAT THE THREAT TO WORLD PEACE FOR THE POSSIBLE PROLIFERATION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS IS A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT FACTOR, AND I WOULD NOT HESITATE AS A PRESIDENT OF OUR COUNTRY TO EXPRESS MY CONCERN OF ABOUT THE SALE OF SUCH PROCESSING PLANTS, ON THE PART OF FRANCE OR GERMANY OF OUR OWN COUNTRY, AND WOULD DO ALL I COULD THROUGH PROPER MEANS, PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS, PRIVATE CONCERN, OR PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN TO MINIMIZE THOSE SALES.

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SALINGER: YOU SAID THAT IF YOU WERE PRESIDENT, YOU WOULD DEAL WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN A TOUGHER WAY. COULD YOU EXPLAIN SOME OF YOUR VIEWS ON HOW DETENTE CAN PROCEED WITH A NEW ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES VIS A VIS THE SOVIET UNION?

CARTER: WELL I THINK IN SEVERAL INSTANCES WE'VE USED DETENTE AS A PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE NIXON, FORD, KISSINGER ADMINISTRATIONS. I THINK WE OUGHT TO PURSUE AGGRESSIVELY THE HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE AND THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION. FOR INSTANCE, MAXIMUM COMMUNICATION, A TOURIST EXCHANGE, STUDENT EXCHANGE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, A TRADE RELATIONSHIPS WE OUGHT AT THE SAME TIME THOUGH TO GET A QUIDPROQUO WHEN WE YIELD TO THE SOVIETS SOMETHING THAT THEY NEED. FOR INSTANCE, THE SALE OF WHEAT, OR GRAIN WHEN THEIR CROPS ARE NOT ADEQUATE. THE SALE OF HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED ELECTRONICS EQUIPMENT, THE SALE OF HEAVY MACHINERY. THESE PEACEFUL TRADE ITEMS ARE VERY VALUABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION. I WOULD NOT BE HEAVY HANDED ABOUT THOSE TRADES, BUT I WOULD WANT TO GET A COMMENSURATE RETURN OF BENEFIT TO OUR COUNTRY OR TO WORLD PEACE AS WE TRADE WITH THE SOVIETS ON THOSE ITEMS. WE NEED TO SEE RUSSIA LIVE UP TO HER COMMITMENT CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS AS EXPRESSED IN THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT, WHICH I DON'T THINK THEY HAVE HONORED ADEQUATELY. WE NEED TO HAVE A MUCH LESS BELIGERANT ATTITUDE FROM THE SOVIETS WHEN TIMES OF CRISIS ARISE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND A JOINING WITH US TO DAMPEN COMBATIVE ATTITUDES AS CONTRASTED TO, I THINK, THE STOKING OF THE FLAMES ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS WHEN THE LAST MIDDLE-EAST CRISIS AROSE. WE NEED TO HAVE A MUCH MORE EAGER ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION, TO HOLD DOWN THE TESTING OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR DEVICES TO MINIMIZE A DEPENDENCE ON ATOMIC WEAPONS AS A MECHANISM FOR RESOLVING THIS PEACE. A MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THEIR PART THE MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTION EFFORTS, CONCERNING EUROPE AND A

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COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS TO JOIN US IN REDUCING ENCOURAGEMENT FOR TERRORISTS, I THINK WE COULD ALSO BENEFIT BY A MORE SURE RESTRAINT OF THE SOVIET UNION ON NORTH KOREA IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD SOUTH KOREA AND THESE ARE THE KIND OF THINGS THAT CAN BE LEGITIMATE ACHIEVEMENTS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT TO US AND THE SOVIETS AND THERE ALL DESIGNED TO ENHANCE WORLD PEACE, BUT I WOULD BE VERY CLEAR IN MY ASPIRATIONS TO SEE, FOR INSTANCE ATOMIC WEAPONS MINIMIZED TO SET DEFINITE LIMITS TO STOP THE GROWTH IN ATOMIC WEAPONRY OR TO HAVE CAREFULLY MONITORED MUTUAL REDUCTIONS FOR THE ULTIMATE GOAL TO ELIMINATE ATOMIC WEAPONS ALL TOGETHER. THAT WON'T COME IN MY LIFETIME BUT THE COMMITMENT OF OUR NATION AND THE PROOF OF THAT COMMITMENT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE SALT-TALKS AND OTHERS, WOULD BE AN ASPECT OF PROPER DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIETS, WHETHER YOU CALL IT TOUGH OR NOT, I DON'T KNOW, BUT I JUST WANT TO BE SURE THAT WHEN WE DO AN ADVANTAGE TO THE SOVIETS WE GET AN ADVANTAGE FOR WORLD PEACE IN RETURN.

SALINGER: WHAT SHOULD BE AMERICA'S POSITION VIS A VIS THE DESIRE OF GREATER INDEPENDENCE OF CERTAIN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FROM THE SOVIET UNION?

CARTER: I THINK WE OUGHT TO KEEP THE AVENUES OF THAT INDEPENDENCE OPEN. I WOULDN'T WANT TO HAVE ANY COVERT OPERATIONS WITHIN THOSE COUNTRIES TO TRY TO OVERTHROW THE EXISTING GOVERNMENTS, BUT I THINK THAT TO THE EXTENT WE CAN KEEP THE CURTAINS OPEN, HAVE FREER TRADE RELATIONSHIPS, GOOD DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES, A BETTER KNOWLEDGE IN THEIR COUNTRY OF OURS, A PRESENTATION OF OUR VIEWS TO THEM THROUGH RADIO AND OTHER MEANS, THESE KIND OF THINGS I THINK CAN BE BENEFICIAL. IT OUGHT TO BE AN ORDERLY EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS INSTEAD OF AN EFFORT TO CREATE A REVOLUTION. I THINK WE OUGHT TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIET:

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UNION THAT FOR INSTANCE A NATION LIKE YUGOSLAVIA, WHERE THE LEADERSHIP MIGHT CHANGE IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS, THAT WE STRONGLY INSIST ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE, ON YUGOSLAVIA FROM SOVIET DOMINATION. WE SHOULD ACT TO ALLEVIATE THE TENSIONS THAT PRESENTLY EXIST. TO SUMMARIZE WE SHOULD HAVE OPEN AVENUES OF TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND OUR INTENTIONS TOWARD THEM SHOULD BE BASED ON LEGITIMATE FRIENDSHIP, AN ABSENCE OF COVERT INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. I THINK THAT WOULD BE THE BEST APPROACH.

SALINGER: ONE LAST QUESTION. ARE YOU GOING TO MAKE A TRIP ABROAD IF YOU ARE ELECTED PRESIDENT? DO YOU PLAN TO GO ABROAD BETWEEN THE TIME YOU ARE ELECTED AND THE TIME YOU TAKE OFFICE?

CARTER: NO, I DON'T HAVE ANY PRESENT PLANS FOR THAT. I TRIED TO AVOID ANY DIRECT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LEADERS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES SINCE I HAVE BEEN A POTENTIAL NOMINEE. WHEN LEADERS HAVE COME TO THIS COUNTRY AND HAVE SUGGESTED A PRIVATE MEETING WITH ME I HAVE REFUSED, SO FAR. I THINK IT'S INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME AS A NOMINEE TO BE PUT IN A POSTURE OF SPEAKING FOR THE COUNTRY EVEN ON MATTERS THAT MIGHT REQUIRE FUTURE DELIVERY. I TRY TO STAY ALOOF FROM THAT PROSPECT. I'LL CERTAINLY MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO LET FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND THEIR LEADERS KNOW ABOUT MY CHARACTER AND MY ATTITUDES BUT I THINK IT'S BEST DONE IN THE PREINAUGURATION PERIOD THROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS WHERE THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY CAN UNDERSTAND MY POSITIONS AND THERE WOULDN'T BE ANY SEMBALANCE OF MY TRYING TO SPEAK FOR THE COUNTRY BEFORE I'M ACTUALLY PRESIDENT. SO I DOUBT THAT I WILL HAVE ANY VISITS OVERSEAS BEFORE I'M INAUGURATED IF I'M SUCCESSFUL.

REGARDS

SALINGER